614 ama chiefs. As for the marriage rules, many of
582 them are based on the old marriage relations
835 which were complicated by ritual stuff. He
684 talks a lot about how such and such cannot marry so and so because his group is an older or a younger brother of the latter. This could stand further investigation. Anyway, marriages are as follows:

Men of	Marry Women of
I-1a	IV, V-2
I-1b	II-2, III, (I-2) (note)
I-2	II-1, IV, V
I-3a	IV
I-3b	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
II-1	I-1a, III
II-2	I-3b, IV
III-1	I-3b, IV
III-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, V
III-3a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2
III-3b	I-2, I-3a, IV, V
IV-1a	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-1b	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
IV-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-1	I-1b, II-1, III-3a
V-2	I-1b, II-1, III-3a

[583] [178] The notable case of a marriage inside a suku started three generations ago when a man of I-1b wanted to marry a woman of I-2 (Ama Kottang Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' and Waktuka(ng), thus. This was heavily taboo, but the man wanted the woman badly and the men of Waktuka(ng) said that if he paid a terrific bride price he could have her. This was done, not without some fuss, and ever since it has been possible to do this without paying the terrific price because the ice
582 was broken. All know that it is a terrible
614 thing, however. I expressed horror and asked
835 whether these two groups weren't having bad trou-
684 bles because of the curse of incest. The guru
688

582 614 835 684 [688] said yes, it had caused great misfortune. I told about the evils of breaking the pela and fam rules in Ambon, and he burst out with a speech about how much worse it is to commit an adat sin than it is to commit a religious sin. The latter hurts a man only when he faces God, and it may be washed away before he dies. But the former makes a man an outcast all his life, shunned and marked, and the curse afflicts his crops, children, and everything. This was a guru serani speaking!

The women run as follows (incidentally he says he knows of a case of the same sort of incest from Wailolong, which I will get tomorrow). (In the old days punishment for breaking marriage rules consisted of expulsion from the suku, ripping off of clothes, and even the death penalty.)

Women of	Marry Men of
I-1a	II-2, III-2, III-3a
I-1b	IV, V
I-2	III-2, III-3a, (I-1b) (note)
I-3a	III-2, III-3a, III-3b
I-3b	II-2, III-1
II-1	I-2, IV, V
II-2	I-1b, II-1
III-1	I-1b, II-1
III-2	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
III-3a	I-1b, I-3b, II-1, IV, V
III-3b	I-1b, I-3b, II-1
IV-1a	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-1b	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
IV-2	I-1a, I-2, I-3a, II-2, III-1, III-3b
V-1	I-2, III-2, III-3b
V-2	I-1a, I-2, III-2, III-3b

In the evening I tried to make some sense out of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

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Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

797 178 ever, he says that this was not caused by misfortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying to kill all of the old culture, and he said that they use no force. I gave the case of [34] the church and the taboo on the expense of rebuilding a korke, and how the Catholics allowed for the great cost of a new church in Riang Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked about the sale of tusks in order to pay for the church, he said that this was a suggestion of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging by the priest?) and that this was to be done only by a few families or groups which set the disastrous fire.

583 452 This led us on to a talk about the tusks. He says that they do not need many to keep the marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong and Leloba they have about twenty-five left today. This is enough. But they must have at least five, as this is the minimum price for a girl. As long as they have the price for one girl they can keep the system going on a credit scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all their tusks, and he said haggardly that this might possibly happen here, but he didn't want to think of the results. The minimum number of five holds for this part of the district, but in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so they could keep the system going with a minimum of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this matter concerning the tusks is that he insists that one cannot get married without tusks, or at least credit for tusks. There is nothing else that can be used for the bride price. Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or anything else used.

684 231 Error: I said before that the animals killed in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

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694 231 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 181 There are no political parties here, not even internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 562 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

War

592 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [598] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e. the assistant --Analyst]

584 836 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no adat rite of marriage. What happened in the old days and what still goes on among the pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

584 836 178 178

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old days this was more frequent, but even now there are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

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They are very prudish about molesting girls (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and says nothing, her father and brothers, if they hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 684 628

He gave a fine case of trouble between kampongs resulting from such a case. In his youth three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

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832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).[1] I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

1 [See cat. III, p. 166 -- Ama 4 s.]

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764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter, as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

●684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big if his family is large. It is fine to have twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

534 556 857

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

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582 or father's father's father's sister's daughter's
835 daughter's son). However, the priests will give dispensation only with a certain amount of fuss here (unlike in Manggarai, where it is evidently easier because the Catholics are newer there and maybe they want to go slower at first).

583 A bride price must be paid for a good marriage, but the very poor folk may omit it, although they try to pay a little, and merely go and live together. The price is variana. Formerly it included tusks, money, animals (buffaloes, horses, cattle). They try to give these things now, but it is degenerating into money alone. The return gift is called tau laguana. The girl's family gives it. It usually includes properly a pair of gold earrings, gold beads, and formerly slaves. The price also formerly might have included slaves, I think. In addition, the girl's family gives a kind of "household outfitting" to the couple, including baskets, gear, food, and formerly slaves. This is like a dowry. Evidently it is also called laguana.

They say that if they did not give a return gift it would be like selling a slave.

[197] The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriages.
[178] The price is much lower now, and this constitutes a big change in the last fifty years or
[565] so. In the old days, for a noble girl one might pay one hundred tusks, ten gold units, two slaves, etc. This depended on her rank.

582 Another change is the removal of the former
178 taboo on slave-noble marriages. In the old days,
565 an upper man might take as a concubine a slave
567 girl, but they seem pretty sure that he would
● 684 not ordinarily marry her, although he might do so. In the old days, however, if a slave man tried anything with a noble girl, it would mean that both of them would be put to death. This

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582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
507 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

● 684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

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684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.

[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

754 682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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789 unfulfillment of ancestral duties can cause ill-
753 ness too (note the illness fear theme; this is just right for these folk who are ill a good deal of the time). But there is no real kekuatan adjaib here.

567 There were many slaves here before, and this
582 applies even to twenty years ago (this is
178 probably a bit too late, I think). The regular
565 thing was for the father of a girl to include
[583] in the return gift at marriage, two slaves (like the "and two persons" still used in the formula for the bride price among the Buginese). There are slaves in the kampong now, but he thinks that only about two to three per cent of the population are so categorized. They are, and were, taken into the suku, but formerly there was little intermarriage with them, and then it was only between a higher man and
• [684] a slave girl. If the reverse took place, the death punishment could be meted out. The marriage taboo is still in, but it is lessening, and even a boy of slave descent (if he is an excellent man and a good worker) may marry a higher girl. However, they are well known, and in general are still to be classed underneath. For example, they have to do certain duties (the guru said they are like "servants"; he used the Dutch word "jongens"). They live in houses with regular people, or perhaps in their own houses. Everyone knows who they are, but no mention is made of this because they reportedly get furious. This is a thing worth investigating further: exactly what are the duties, and exactly how are they thought of and what do they think of themselves, etc.? (Remember that in the United States no one really thinks of taunting Negroes with an open charge of being descended from slaves.)

565 There are few possibilities for class mo-
555 bility. There are some meager beginnings at

War

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill,
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1] has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when an enemy was captured in war, although they didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit shocked at the idea), they would kill him outside the kampong. His father did this, which was quite decent after all!

754 He insists that there was no cannibalism at
[266] all, except that formerly (and even today?) the suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently the devils here. They do the things that other people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are the scapegoats for past practices. That is, they say that their ancestors never did such things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's father had to kill fourteen in one day in Leloba alone! There is something fishy here. Either he won't tell everything, or else he has forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
● 684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in cases of adultery if the offenders were caught red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same" way," and to take his relatives and family along. He also wanted some photographs, and I will send him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book. I will also send him some medicine for asthma. How different he is from the begging and crafty Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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586 another wife.

586 In the case of adultery on the part of a
● 684 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
562 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]